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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates routine "opening turns" in telephone conversations, examining their variety and adaptability, and extending E. A. Schegloff's model to account for them. Following a review of previous research on telephone openings, the paper describes the notion of "reduction" as offered by M. R. Whalen and D. H. Zimmerman, and discusses tests of the resulting model against a data sample (not presented in the paper) of 25 calls between acquaintances and 34 calls between strangers in non-emergency situations. The paper concludes with a statement of the "reversal of sign" model, emphasizing that what may best explain reductions and expansions to models of telephone openings is not the exigency of the occasion, but the extent to which the two speaking parties share a conversational history. Two tables of data are included, and 29 references and an "extending the openings" model are attached. (SR)

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TELEPHONE OPENINGS: ANALYZING "STRANGER" CALLS AND "ACQUAINTANCE" CALLS

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TELEPHONE OPENINGS: ANALYZING "STRANGER" CALLS AND "ACQUAINTANCE" CALLS

Abstract

Schegloff (1986) has developed a definitive model of the sequencing of telephone openings. Other researchers (for example, Whalen and Zimmerman, 1987) have described emergency calls as being "reduced" from Schegloff's four-part sequence. The present paper emphasizes that what may best eexplain such reductions -- as well as "expansions" also observed -- is not the the exigency of the occasion, but the extent to which the two speaking parties share a conversational history. Data is drawn from a doctor's office, a cancer information line, and a radio call-in show to support an extended version of Schelgoff's original model.

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TELEPHONE OPENINGS:
ANALYZING "STRANGER" CALLS
AND "ACQUAINTANCE" CALLS

The opening turns in conversational encounters are often accomplished in ways that appear routine, even ritual-like. These turns seem to have no content. One asks 'How are you?' and does not expect an accurate or literal answer. Rather, the functions of these initial turns seem bound up with making contact, and getting started in a speech encounter.

Yet these routine turns do more work than one might suppose. Encounter openings are performed as adaptable routines that participants adjust to fit each occasion. Speakers subtly mark early turns of interaction to signal special circumstances, intended lines of action, or possible problems (Hopper, 1989a,b).

To show precisely how varied and adaptable such routines are -- and to extend an already-existing model to account for them -- is the purpose of the present study. Schegloff's model of telephone openings (1986), provides a metric for the openings of telephone calls. However, the model is limited to calls between acquaintances. And while other researchers (see, for example, Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987; Whalen, Zimmerman & Whalen, 1988) have noted variations in Schegloff's model based on the "emergency" nature of the calls they studied, we argue that these and other variations are best explained by: "Strangers' institutional service encounters."

We maintain that certain conversational systemics are displayed in calls between strangers, casual acquaintances, and intimates. Admittedly, telephone openings between strangers in emergency situations (e.g., 911 calls) display "reductions" (Whalen and Zimmerman, 1988) from the four-stage model for acquaintances (Schegloff, 1986). But does the "emergency" nature of the situation best account for this? Our data show that calls between strangers in non-emergency situations (e.g., calls to the Cancer Information Service) also exhibit reduction, while other stranger-stranger calls may "expand" beyond these reductions. In

order to account for these variations, we offer a "reversal of sign" hypothesis, positing twin poles of routine call formats: one to show acquaintance, and one to show no acquaintance. Actual openings derive from these formats by expansion and reduction.

We begin by reviewing previous research on telephone openings, then we describe the notion of reduction as offered by Whalen & Zimmerman (1987). The resulting model is then "tested" against our data sample of 25 calls between acquaintances, and 34 calls between strangers in non-emergency settings. We conclude with a statement of the "reversal of sign" model.

Routine Openings: Schegloff's Model

Schegloff (1986) describes "routine" telephone openings as unfolding in four adjacency sequences: Summons-answer, identification / recognition, greetings, and initial inquires / responses. This model is illustrated using Example (1). (Letters at left margin are added in the present treatment.)

(1) #263; Schegloff, 1986, 115

[a]			((RING))
	01	R	Hello
[b]	02	C	Hello Ida?
	03	R	Yeah
[c]	04	C	Hi,=This is Carla
	05	R	Hi Carla.
[d]	06	C	How are you.
	07	R	Okay:.
	08	C	Good.=
	09	R	=How about you.
	10	C	Fine. Don wants to know...

Schegloff describes this instance as a set of sequential entities:

[a] A summons answer sequence, consisting of the telephone ring and the first answerer's turn;

[b] Identification / recognition sequences, consisting of each party identifying and displaying recognition of the other;

[c] An exchange of greeting tokens;

[d] An exchange of initial inquiries and their responses.

Each of these entities occupies a slot relative to the others (Sacks, 1975, p. 341). That is, these tasks get accomplished in the order listed, although there are numerous instances in which these accomplishments interlock. In Example (1) line 01 "answers" the summons-ring, but it also provides a voice-sample relevant to mutual identification. To describe Example (1) as composed of four "routine" slots in telephone openings provides a backdrop against which numerous communicative tasks may be accomplished, more or less implicitly.

Comparing the Model to Twenty-Five Openings

To argue that certain telephone openings display more-or-less canonical routines does not, as it turns out, entail the claim that most telephone openings occur just like Example (1). In fact, actual telephone openings display diverse formats and subtle shades of interactive detailing. This diversity occurs throughout openings, but increases in their later stages.

Hopper (1989) tests Schegloff's sequential model as an empirical description for calls between acquaintances against the details of 25 telephone openings in which speakers were social friends and / or business associates. His results led to a "pyramid" heuristic shown as figure 1. This pyramid suggests that the first sequence (summons-answer) in openings predicts the data quite well, and each succeeding #sequence shows greater and greater deviation from the canonical instance presented as example (1).

Specifically, three-fourths of answerers used "hello," and those who used other answer-forms were in job settings. Sixty percent of callers attempted to identify the answerers at second turn. Six of the ten remaining callers asked for somebody else, judging they had not reached the party they wanted. In sum participants in most of these twenty-five calls adhered to routines for summons-answer and for recognition / identification, at least when caller believed s/he reached the intended answerer.

The picture grows more complicated with greetings. Setting aside the initial "hellos" as not (by themselves) accomplishing greeting, only a third of the openings (8) displayed a pair of greetings. Nine other openings showed single greetings. Seven calls showed no greeting tokens.

The findings for the "initial inquiry" slot conformed even less closely to the model, though every call showed traces of the canonical exchange of "how are you" -- "fine". Nine openings in this sample of twenty-five show only one "how are you" inquiry, but no return. In other openings there seemed no preliminary initial inquiry, but parties "got right to business."

Figure 1 characterizes the variation as very slight for summons-answer, but gradually widening in each later sequential slot of the opening.

Figure 1

Schematic for Variation from Routine
in Twenty-five Telephone Openings

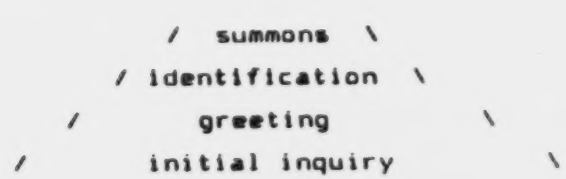

Figure 1 indicates that the earliest of the four sequences almost always goes off routinely, but each succeeding stage shows greater variation in what may occur. This fits with the characterization of adjacency pair formats occurring when close-order coordination is needed (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). The greatest degree of close-order coordination seems necessary at the very outset of the opening, and each succeeding sequence allows more leeway as participants adapts toward relatively spontaneous interaction.

When all exceptions are considered, however, one is left with this predictive embarrassment: there are a considerably greater number of non-routine openings than canonically routine ones. What is the status of a model of a routine which is, in actual full occurrence, not all that frequent? Perhaps it is a model in which routine cases need not be frequent in order to provide standards against which more common events may be compared. Hopper (1989) offers this analogy to fit these findings with Schegloff's (1986) model:

> In baseball "a no-hit game" provides a standard for the effective pitching performance even though it occurs infrequently. A no-hit game is an idealized circumstance in which, from the pitcher's point of view, nothing goes wrong. A idealized format need not occur with any particular frequency to provide standards of comparison with marked or deleted items. In terms of the canonical four-part opening, usefulness is not closely based upon frequency, but upon participants improvised hearings of each unfolding turn.

For the moment, we may summarize as follows. Schegloff's model may be read as expecting narrow compliance in openings to a canonical format. Hopper (1989) found that, even bypassing issues of variations due to culture or degree of acquaintance, there was considerable deviation from this model in actual openings. Further, these deviations increase from slight ones in the first of the four sequential slots in the model (summons-

answer) to relative spontaneity in the "initial inquiry" slot. Whereas this may cast doubt, for some readers, on the model's validity, we prefer only to indict such a narrow reading -- involving an expectation that all openings are just alike. Further, related data concerning these questions comes from studies of telephone emergency services.

Emergency Calls

Whalen & Zimmerman (1987) claim that 'calls to emergency service agencies (and to other service numbers) display a distinctive reduction of the routine format' sketched by Schegloff. Reduction refers to the absence of the greeting and 'howareyou' sequences that one finds in an "ordinary" opening sequence. Due to the "emergency" nature of the situation, the authors claim, speakers get right to business, skipping parts of openings that display previous aquaintanceship. Frankel (1981, 1989) has made similar observations in examining emergency calls to a poison control center.

The omission of the greeting and 'howareyou'sequences seems pertinent to emergency calls in that it affects the placement of first topic. Consider the following example:

(9) [MCE/21-9/12/simplified]

01 D: Mid-City Emergency

02 C: Um yeah (.) somebody jus' vandalized my car,

03 D: What's your address.

04 C: Thirty three twenty two: Elm.

These speakers display 'an institutionally constrained focus' (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 175) in large part by reduction-deletion of greetings and initial inquiries. Consequently, the first topic slot may be raised in the caller's first turn, line 2 in Example (9):

02 C: 'Um yeah (.) somebody jus' vandalized my car.'

Note that this is the first opportunity the caller has to speak. The caller states the reason for the call in this first turn: a

vandalized car. Caller does not produce a greeting token, does not self-identify himself, does not ask 'how are you?' Whalen & Zimmerman (1987) note these absences as reductions. The mechanism of these deletions is not specified, other than stating its connection to parameters of the local occasion: they are not relevant or apt, hence they are deleted. The caller's move directly from the completion of the summons/answer sequence to the reason for the call is a sensible one, the authors note, because 'the absent sequences are absent for the reason that the issues to which they are addressed are not ordinarily salient in service encounters between anonymous parties' (1987, pp. 177-8). Moreover, reduction produces an "efficient" opening because it orients to 'the sequential achievement of prompt response to urgent needs ... ' (1987, p. 178). Thus, these authors claim a particular relation between this (reduced) format for caller's first turn and the contextual parameter: emergency situation. Some corroboration is offered by Schegloff that deletions from canonical routine mark special emergencies and urgencies : '... the maximum preemptions by callers are all extrinsic matters of urgency ... ' (1986, p.144). That may be; however, we wish to raise other possible explanations:

1. The speakers are total strangers to one another;
2. The speech events are institutional service encounters.

Reduction is a comparative term: opening sequences in emergency calls are reduced <u>from</u> the canonical sequence outlined by Schegloff (1986). But is the canonical sequence the "base" sequence from which others are derived? Zimmerman (1989) argues that it is. These arguments may support Zimmerman's contention:

A. The four stage sequence "contains" all the parts of the reduced sequences. The non-reduced sequence subsumes the reduced one.

B. Historically / Ontogenetically, the greeting of acquaintances must have preceded the greeting of strangers; hence

it seems plausible to imagine that the latter developed using the conversational objects used in the former.

These two arguments might be too circumstantial and too difficult to state empirically. But a a third argument is more closely empirical:

C. In calls to strangers, additions to the "canonical-reduced" format are composed of speech objects that are named in Schegloff's model. For example, one marked addition to calls between strangers (it is shown below) is the greeting. The converse is also the case: deletions from Schegloff's four stage model for calls between acquaintances are those very items: greetings, for instance.

The rest of the present essay introduces new evidence about non-emergency openings in telephone openings between strangers. These data are corroborated against data for both acquaintance calls and emergency calls, with the goal of specifying a unified model for telephone openings that specifies details for calls between strangers and calls between acquaintances. These data explain deviations from each model: reductions and additions from either canonical routine marks special circumstances and accomplishments -- rr, act to amend definitions of the emergent situation. The relationship between these two canonical co-routines is that they use the same bricolleur's bags of spare-part speech objects. Most telephone openings are not blueprints (Schegloff's model is that); but collages, or bricollages (Levi-Strauss, 1966; Derrida).

These speculations began as an examination of emergency telephone openings. This consideration called our attention to a large number of telephone openings that do not strictly conform to the apparent descriptions in the "routine" model. What may be said about the principle of "reduction" in non-emergency settings?

Reduction in Non-Emergency Settings

There is considerable variety in enactment of greetings and initial inquiries. Especially notable are the frequent absence of return greetings and return initial inquiries. This is a different type of "reduction" than that to which Whalen & Zimmerman refered (1987), but one that departs from the four-part sequence of Schegloff nonetheless. These data suggest the inverted funnel analogy, above, but provide only partial and indistinct explanations for deviations from the routine, most of them deletions. To achieve these explanations, we must reconsider the above findings in terms of our evolving understanding of interaction.

As Hopper (1989) argues some extension of Schegloff's model for calls to acquaintances, our present data revise Zimmerman's characterization of institutional-emergency calls as "reduced" by deletion of greetings and how are you. In the first place, our data include no emergencies, strictly speaking, so we favor the characterization of "instititutional" or "stranger-stranger" to that of emergency.

More importantly, as Hopper (1989) argued that many openings between acquaintances are, in part, reduced in their greeting and how-are-you sequencing, we argue here that many institutional-stranger openings contain "expansions" -- that is, add certain elements of greetings and other items that may be absent from the "canonical institutional" call.

We present data segments from stranger-stranger openings in our data. When "switchboard" openings are set aside (See Hopper, 1989; Schegloff, 1986) we find two clusters of cases which we simply refer to as Forms I and II. These classifications are based on a criterion suggested by Schegloff (1979), and followed by Frankel (1989) and by Whalen and Zimmerman (1987), namely: the caller's first speaking turn. In the case of acquaintances, this first turn ordinarily takes up identification and recognition of the caller and answerer. In our data, but especially in Form I

openings, callers bypass identification-recognition issues and get right to business. In part this is possible because these institutional openings invariably include explicit institutional self-identification by the answerer. Only the identification and recognition of the caller then remains to be dealt with, and between strangers in our data these sometimes receive no orientation. Consequently, we get caller's first turns of form I, which resemble's Zimmerman's 'reduced' format:

FORM I -- Caller's first turn is assent + get-down-to-business

J16 ((doctor's office))
A: Thank you for holding may I help you?
(0.2)
==> C: Yes, I'm wondering where your office is located please

CIS 223
A: Cancer Information Service M D Anderson Hospital may I help you?
C: Yes ma'am. °hhh uh- I have a question ab(h)out breast cancer

CIS 212
A: M D Anderson's Cancer Information Service may I help you?
(0.2)
B: Yes I was: uh (0.6) wondering if: there was a possibility of getting a list of thee: foods that ar:e available (0.9) to reduc:e risk of cancer?

Form I instances resemble Zimmerman emergency data in many particulars. The first thing the caller says is "yes" or some other agreeing answer to a question that accompanies the institutional self-identification in answerer's first turn. Then the caller gets to business, albeit amid some delays,

dysfluencies, and qualifications.

FORM 1A openings were found only in the Cancer Information Service data. In these caller's first turns, an (optional) agreement or assent is followed by some "preliminary" material that indicates a concern is forthcoming, though not yet stated. We diagram form 1A, then as (assent) + pre-specification

CIS 255

A: [Cancer Information] Service may I help you?

C: Uh yes ma'm I saw your: (.) advertisement on t v?

CIS 87

A: Cancer Information Service M D Anderson may I help you?
(1.1)

C: Uh (.) possibly here (0.4) wu tuh (1.0)
If a- if a guy has an x ray you know ...

CIS 85

A: [Cancer Information Service may I help you?]

C: I- I'm not sure if I have the right department
'hhhhh U:ih what I'm looking for is uh (0.4) counseling
(0.5) in regard to cancer

CIS 263

A: Cancer Information Service may I help you?
(0.7)

C: Yes ma'am. (.) I's just wonderin if you could I
don't know. hm (0.4) U:ih. my hûsband called last
week (0.2) and you sent him some information ...

These cases bear multiple markings of caller's tentativeness. Form 1A may emcompass tentative, polite, delicate, prelminary versions of Form 1.

Form 1 (and 1A) openings resemble the emergency data of Zimmerman et al. (1987) and of Frankel (1989). Our main claim

based on these data is that "instututional" or "stranger-stranger" is a useful characterization of our data and theirs. With that caveat, however, we may tentatively apply Zimmerman's turn "reduction" to form I openings. We would, however, be just as comfortable with the charactization: "getting-right-to-business," which leaves open to speculation the relationships between this and the four-stage sequence for acquaintances delineated by Schegloff (1986).

By comparason with forms I, institutional openings of form II have in common that they are "augmented" or expanded. That is, they add more elements into the opening. Interestingly, the very elements that are added are those named in Schegloff (1986): Greetings, How are you, and self-identifications. Is it a coincidence that augmented (form II) stranger-openings bear some resemblance to certain elided acquaintance openings?

FORM II Caller's 1st turn: (Yes) + Caller ID + concern

J16.13

A: Metro Allergy Associates this is Bonnie=
==> C: =Uh this is m- uh (.) Miz Walter Handley
A: Yēs
C: Mister Handley is a patient over there...

M12b ((Radio Call in))
A: Yes you are ân the air.
C: U:m hh doctor?
(0.7)
A: Yes?
(0.6)
==> C: Yes u:m hh my name is Mary
C: 'hhh and I just had a question?

CIS\B10

A: Cancer Information Service M D Anderson may I help you?

==> C: Yes this is Miz Edward Krementz

(0.4)

A: Yes'um

(2.1)

C: My hûsband has cancer

FORM IIA Caller greets Answerer in first turn

M12a

A: Hall:o? you are on the a:ir.

==> C: Good ēvening Doctor Ruth.

(0.6)

A: Good evening

C: I just wanted to ...

J16

A: Metro Allergy Associates this is Bonnie

(.)

==> C: Hi there Bonnie this is Mindy Welch

A: Hi

What forms II and IIA have in common is that they are augmentations of Form I -- they add back in some materials that are commonly present in openings between acquaintances, but are, according to previous studies, deleted or reduced out in institutional openings and some acquaintance openings.

Do we argue that previously-unacquainted callers are, in some sense, staking out more than the usual amount of acquaintance, or accessibility between them and institutional answerer?

An ethnographic particular from the Cancer Information Service, our major single data-source for the present report, may be of interest. There is only one CIS opening in the Form II--

collection, but form II instances seem frequent in openings at the doctor's office, the insurance and the radio call-in shows. These latter environments may offer certain strategic advantages to packaging one's identity as that of a repeat caller, or someone with a relationship to answerer, or to the institution. These advantages may become empirical:

J16

A: Metro Allergy Associates this is Bonnie
(.)

==> C: Hi there Bonnie this is Mindy Welch

A: Hi

C: 'hh U::m I have a problem, My husband u:::::h is Barry Welch ((3 lines deleted)) Do you think maybe Dr Hart might consider calling him in a prescription for emoxacillin instead of having to see him

Callers who use forms II, additions to the base sequence for non-acquainted participants, may display strategic motives to "show relationship" with the answerer. In the J16 opening, the caller moves from her Form IIA opening turn, which elicits a return-greeting, and immediately spends the next turn requesting a very special medical favor. In this instance, caller's first turn simulates the opening for acquainted parties. One might argue that these parties are previously acquainted, but even that possibility does not affect this argument: that even in a situation in which acquaintance could be claimed, the way it is claimed here has its uses. The caller exploits these in II, and especially IIA openings.

The radio talk show is an enviornment in which form II openings are particularly plentiful. In the first place, most callers are probably listening to the show before they call, so like participants in traffic court (see Pollner) callers have some sense of how things are done in this environment, and perhaps some sense of "knowing" the caller vicariously. Still,

radio callers who use a simulated "acquainted" beginning as a preface may "ask more" of the show's host. The instance in set IIB above (from Dr. Ruth) begins a call in which the host delivers a lengthy compliment and commentary on the host's show, then attempts to ask two separate questions. Most calls to this show are one-topic calls. This caller employs simulated displays of familiarity, such as greeting by name, to promote greater access to the telephone answerer.

The overall cross-tabulation in Table 1 shows the occurrence of form I (reduced) and II (augmented) openings with the settings of the insitituional calls between unacquainted parties.

Table 1

Source	Format 1	Format 1A	Format 2	Format 2A	Tot.
	(R E D U C T I O N S)		(E X P A N S I O N S)		
CIS	6	8	1	-	15
OPRTR	2	-	-	-	2
(not correct)					
*INS	-	-	-	1	1
	1	-	1	2	4
OLIN	4	-	1	1	6
Dr.RUTH	-	-	3	3	6

Totals	13	8	6	7	34

Conclusions

Some questions arising from previous research:

1. Do reductions routinely (or usually) occur in institutional-situation calls between previously unacquainted parties? (And can the traces of institutions be subjected to analysis separate from the criterion of no previous acquaintance?)

2. Is the "institutional / emergency / strangers" case best characterized as following a "reduction" format, compared to acquaintance calls? (Or, alternatively, is the "stranger, etc" case a separate, albeit related, format.)

Some answers from the present data:

1. In many calls, reductions occur. For example in most calls to CIS and to phone operators (OPR), there appear no greetings or initial inquiries (except inquiries getting right down to business). We doubt the aptness of separating "instituional" fron "strangers" as a descriptor of these openings. Given a two-by-two matrix of real-life events, with stanger--acquaintance on one axis and institutional--non-institutional on the other, most stranger-stranger events occur within institutional constraints -- eg, service encounters and the like.

2. The "reduction" hypothesis, positing a strong structural relationship between acquaintance and stranger openings, seems tenable as a description for stranger-institutional openings. But evidence for it is remains underwhelming. Actually, the percentages in which some reductions occur in acquaintance talk (Hopper, 1989) are not altogether different from those in which reductions do not occur in institutional - stranger openings.

This suggests a "reversal of sign" model, in which we posit two "cousin" (e.g., showing family resemblances to one another) canonical formats, one to show acquaintance and one to show no acquaintance, but to invoke institutional obligations. The format for stranger/service/institution/emergency can be characterized as a reduction of the canonical opening for acquaintances in that:

(a) The "optional" (or usually missing) parts in the stranger openings correspond to objects canonical (though still often missing) in acquaintance openings.

(b) The primordial form of spoken address is perhaps between previously-acquainted parties, hence strangers must adapt using some reduced transform of it.

Table 2
Revised Model

Acquaintances	Marked	Strangers/Instit
Summons-answer [S-A]	S-A	S-A
Identification / Recongition	(Caller ID or Ans. Name)	---
Greetings	(Greetings)	---
Initial Inquiry [II]	(II)	Get-to-business

The "reversal of sign" model explains how deviations from the normal forms stranger and acquaintance are marked by augmentations and deletions that move from either the full format to reductions; or from the reduced format to augmentations in the direction of the full format. These changes are not random pipings, but are social gestures marking social meanings and accomplishments. That is, these openings, as they vary from either canonical pole, mark self-explicating accomplishment of bits of context. They mark these openings as like the "closest" canon, but uniquely referenceable in terms of deviations from them.

What makes an exception exceptional? Schegloff, (1986, 142) in considering instances in which initial howareyous are not exchanged, argues that certain action types, such as emergency, an apology, or terrible news, preempt routines. That explanation seems less than fully satisfying for the data reported here, or in Hopper (1989). Here we found that a variety of institutional settings provide backdrop for two forms of reduced openings. Hopper (1989) found reductions in acquaintance--acquaintance calls of no particular urgency; e.g., in which the business turns out to be the delivery of routine news or asking an old friend whether he wants to share a meal. None of our openings show the micro-temporal urgency of the calls to a poison-control center, but they do show definite reasons-for-calling, that is single, state-able pieces of caller's business, reasons which caller presumably could have formulated before dialing the phone. Perhaps some strongly purposeful phone calls bear auras (markings, stigmata?) of the institutional, and that is why callers mark their openings with deletions. To a friend you call on a definite basis, you might exclaim, in affect, " mea culpa, my friend." To the bureaucratic stranger or the pseudo-known public person, one might posture to mark intimacy as a gambit.

Whatever is special, problematic, urgent, or specifically strategic may be marked by divergence from routine formats. And

one would expect that something special is worth marking in the vast majority of telephone openings: a pre-sequential gambit, a problem, or anyhing not-quite-ordinary. The more frequent and subtle such divergences, the more the system seems to typify the detailed level of free will that humans consider their sphere.

It is apparently not the case that there are special, or conventionalized, kinds of marking for each special kind of problem, as occurs in a computer program or a referential theory of meaning. Rather, there is a fixed set of ways to mark divergences from routine: pausing, laughing, failing to return a greeting, bypassing a slot by packing two items into one turn, or asking a marked initial inquiry such as "What's goin on later?" These divergences from routines are not specific in their uses. Rather, they generically mark that "something is up." Their very vagueness or sequential ambiguity (Sacks, Fall, 1967, lecture 7; Schegloff, 1984) allows use of a small number of tokens to perform a variety of functions within a variety of scenes. Any first-occurring marking may be followed up in future turns, or participants may let the possibilities pass. The participants, on the scene, in interaction, work out what, if anything, is special about any encounter. These are some of the advantages to the speech communicator of a "bricoleur-ethnomethodology" for telephone openings, compared to, say, a positivist--engineer's methods.

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"Acquaintance" Calls and "Stranger" Calls:
Extending the Openings Model

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(1) A Canonical "Acquaintance" Opening (# 263, Schegloff, 1986)

[a]	00		((RING))
	01	A:	Hello
[b]	02	C:	Hello Ida?
	03	A:	Yeah
[c]	04	C:	Hi,=This is Carla
	05	A:	Hi, Carla.
[d]	06	C:	How are you.
	07	A:	Okay:.
	08	C:	Good.=
	09	A:	=How about you.
	10	C:	Fine. Don wants to know ...

[a]: Summons/Answer sequence
[b]: Identification/Recognition sequence
[c]: Exchange of greeting tokens
[d]: Exchange of initial inquiries and their responses

(2) A Canonical "Emergency" Opening (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987)

[MCE/21-9/12/simplified]

[a]	00		((Beep))
[b]	01	D:	Mid-City Emergency
==>	02	C:	Um yeah (.) somebody jus' vandalized my car,
	03	D:	What's your address.
	04	C:	Thirty three twenty two: Elm.

-- Greeting and Initial Inquiry ([c] and [d]) drop out as opening is "reduced" to Summons/Answer + Identification;

-- Caller gets right to business at first available turn.

(3) "Reduction" among Strangers (Hopper & Drummond, 1989)

UTCL: CIS 212

[a]	00		((ring))
[b]	01	A:	M D Anderson's Cancer Information Service may
	02		I help you?
	03		(0.2)
==>	04	B:	Yes I was: uh (0.6) wondering if: there was a
	05		possibility of getting a list of thee: foods
	06		that ar:e available (0.9) to reduc:e risk of
	07		cancer?

(4) "Reduction" among Acquaintances (Hopper, 1989)

```
          UTCL: A24
[a]       00          ((ring))
          01    HAY: <Hell>o,
          02               (.)
[b]       03    BET: Hayley
          04    HAY: Uh huh?
          05    BET: Is Carol thêre
          06    HAY: Hold on, Cârol it's Beth.
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(5) "Expansion" among Strangers. (Hopper & Drummond, 1989)

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          UTCL: J16
[a]       00          ((ring))
[b]       01    A:    Metro Allergy Associates this is Bonnie
          03               (.)
[c]==>    04    C:    Hi there Bonnie this is Mindy Welch
          05    A:    Hi
          06    C:    °hh U::m I have a problem, My husband u::::h
          07          is Barry Welch ((3 lines deleted)) Do you
          08          thînk maybe Dr Hart might consider calling
          09          him in a prescription for emoxacillin instead
          10          of having to see him
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(6) Extending the Openings Model (Hopper & Drummond, 1989)

Acquaintances		Marked Form		Strangers/Inst.
	Reductions ========>		<======== Expansions	
[a] Summ./Ans.	==>	Summ./Ans.	<==	Summ./Ans.
[b] Ident./Rec.	==>	(Caller ID or Ans. Name)	<==	---
[c] Greetings	==>	(Greetings)	<==	---
[d] Init. Inq.	==>	(Init. Inq.)	<==	Get-to-business